GENUINE ACCOUNT

OF THE

TRIAL

OF

EUGENE ARAM,

For the MURDER of

DANIEL CLARK,

Late of *Knaresbrough*, in the County of *York*;

Who was convicted at *York* Assizes, *August* 3, 1759, before the Honourable WILLIAM NOEL, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices of the Court of *Common Pleas*.

To which, after a short Narration of the Fact, is prefixed,

An Account of the remarkable Discovery of the Human Skeleton at *St. Robert's Cave*, where it had lain upwards of Thirteen Years:—A Detail of all the Judicial Proceedings from the Time of the Bones being found, to the Commitment of *Richard Houseman*, *Eugene Aram*, and *Henry Terry* to *York-Castle*:—The Depositions of *Anna Aram*, *Philip Coates*, *John Yates*, &c.—The Examination and Confession of *Richard Houseman*:—The Apprehending of *Eugene Aram*, at *Lynn*, in *Norfolk*:—With his Examination and Commitment.

To which are added,

The remarkable DEFENCE he made on his Trial:—His own Account of himself, written after his Condemnation:—With the APOLOGY, which he left in his Cell, for the Attempt he made on his own Life.

All taken immediately from the Original DEPOSITIONS, PAPERS, &c.

The THIRD EDITION.

HARGROVE.

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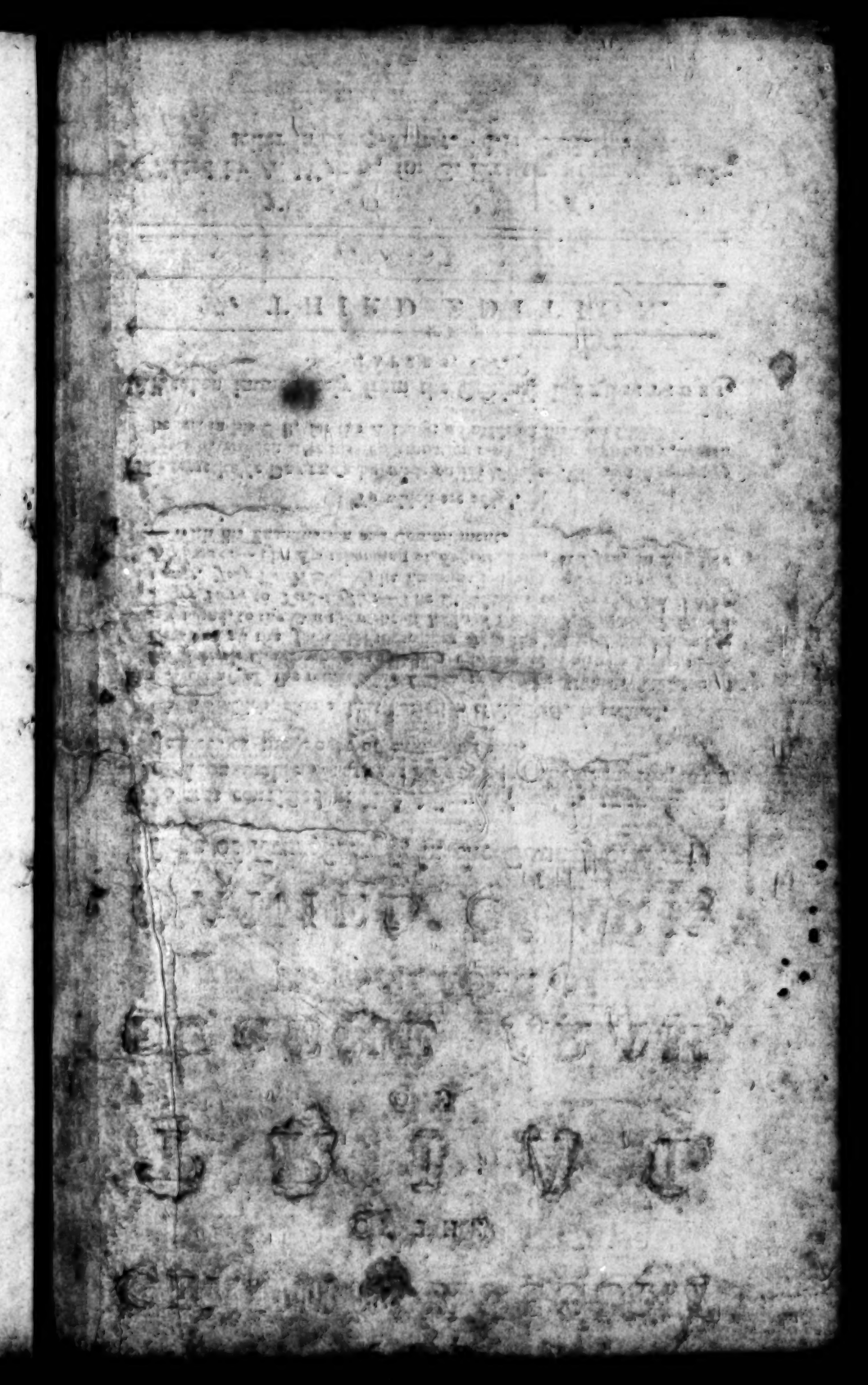

Scarce

A Full and Genuine

ACCOUNT

OF THE

MURDER of DANIEL CLARK, of *Knaresbrough*, with the LIFE, *&c.* of EUGENE ARAM.

IF we consider the whole History of DIVINE PROVIDENCE in this World, we shall find Sin and Punishment interwoven in the same Piece. If Sin appears upon the Stage, Punishment waits behind the Curtain. Yet, for certain wise Ends, Almighty God often forbears the Punishment of Sinners in this Life: Notwithstanding, should he suffer them all to go in Peace to their Graves, and to pass out of this Life with Impunity, it might stagger Men's Belief of his particular Providence, and make them ready to say with the Wicked in *Psalm* xciv. *The Lord seeth not, neither doth the God of Jacob regard.*

Of all the Crimes Man is capable of committing, as there is none so offensive to Omnipotence as Murder; so the Almighty seems to be more particularly intent to expose this hei-

nous Offence to Mankind. By what extraordinary Means Murders are frequently brought to Light, is no more the Buſineſs of this Treatiſe, than as it may concern the following remarkable Diſcovery of the Murder of *Daniel Clark*.

Daniel Clark was born in *Knareſbrough*, of reputable Parents, where he lived, and followed the Buſineſs of a Shoemaker. We ſhall paſs over thoſe Things in his Life which have no Regard to the Affair we treat of; and content ourſelves with obſerving, That, in or about the Month of *January*, 1744-5, he married a Wife, with a Fortune of 200 *l.* or upwards; and being then in very good Credit in *Knareſbrough*, it is preſumed a Scheme was laid by *Eugene Aram*, then a School-Maſter in that Town, and *Richard Houſeman*, a Flax-Dreſſer, to defraud ſeveral Perſons of great Quantities of Goods and Plate, and that *Clark* ſhould be the Man to carry theſe Schemes into Execution; for, as he then lived in very good Credit, and was lately married, he was the propereſt Perſon for the intended Purpoſe: Accordingly *Clark*, for ſome few Days, went to ſeveral Perſons in and about *Knareſbrough*, and took up great Quantities of Linen and Wollendrapery Goods, under Pretence, that, as he was lately married, he wanted not only Clothes to appear in on the Occaſion, but alſo Table and Bed-Linen; in which he ſucceeded ſo well, that he got Goods of that Kind to a conſiderable Amount. After this he went to ſeveral Inn-Keepers, and others, deſiring to borrow a Silver Tankard of one, a Pint of another, and the like, alledging that he was to have Company that Night, and ſhould be glad of the Uſe

of

of them at Supper; and, in order to give a Colour to this his Story, he got of the Inn-Keepers (of whom he ſo borrowed the Plate) Ale, and other Sorts of Liquors *: This was on the 7th of *February*, 1744-5.

Some ſuſpicious Circumſtances appearing that Night and the following Morning, cauſed a Rumour in the Town, that *Clark* was gone off; and, upon Enquiry, it could not be learnt what was become of him. Search was immediately made for the Goods and Plate he had got, when ſome Part of the Goods were found at *Houſeman*'s; and another Part thereof, as ſome Velvets, *&c.* was dug up in *Aram*'s Garden; but, as no Plate was found, it was then concluded *Clark* was gone off with that: Upon which the ſtricteſt Enquiry was made after him, by ſending People out into ſeveral Parts, and advertiſing him in the public Papers, *&c.* but all to no Purpoſe.

From the above Circumſtances *Aram* was ſuſpected of being an Accomplice with *Clark*; upon which a Proceſs was granted, from the Steward of the Honour of *Knareſbrough*, to arreſt him for a Debt due to one Mr. *Norton*, which was done with a View to detain *Aram* until ſuch Time as a Warrant could be had from a Juſtice of Peace to take him up for being concerned, along with *Clark*, in defrauding People of their Plate, *&c.* Contrary to the Expectation of every Perſon in the Town, he (being then eſteemed

* Among other Goods he got the following, *viz.* Three Silver Tankards; Four Silver Pints; One Silver Milk-Pot; One Ring, ſet with an Emerald and two brilliant Diamonds; another with three Roſe Diamonds; a third with an Amethyſt in the Shape of a Hart, and Six plain Rings; Eight Watches; Two Snuff-Boxes; Chambers's Dictionary, 2 Vols. Folio; Pope's Homer, 6 Vols. bound.

very poor) paid what he was arreſted for, and produced a large Sum of Money; and in a few Days paid off a conſiderable Mortgage upon his Houſe in *Bondgate*, near *Ripon*. Soon after his Releaſement he left the Town of *Knareſbrough*, and was not heard of with any Certainty until the Month of *June*, 1758, when he was found to be at *Lynn*, in *Norfolk*.

Aram's Departure from *Knareſbrough* ſeems to have put a Stop to any further Examination into this Affair; for nothing was effectually diſcovered touching *Clark*'s being murdered, until the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, 1758, (which was upwards of Thirteen Years from the Time of *Clark*'s being miſſing) when it happened that a Labourer, employed in digging for Stone to ſupply a Lime-Kiln, at a Place called *Thiſtle-Hill*, near *Knareſbrough*, having, at the Edge of the Cliff, dug about half a Yard and half a Quarter deep, found an Arm-Bone, and the ſmall Bone of the Leg of an Human Skeleton. In digging forward, he diſcovered all the reſt of the Bones belonging to the Body, which, by the Poſition of it, ſeem'd to have been put in double, as the Bones were all entire. This remarkable Accident being rumoured in the Town of *Knareſbrough*, gave Reaſon for a Suſpicion that *Daniel Clark* had been murdered, and buried there; and the rather, as there had no other Perſon been miſſing thereabouts, to any one's Knowledge, for ſixty Years and upwards. The Strangeneſs of the Event excited People's Curioſity to enquire ſtrictly into it: Upon which the Coroner was ſent for, and an Inquiſition taken thereon. The Wife of *Eugene Aram*, who had before frequently given Hints of her

Suſpicion

Suſpicion that *Daniel Clark* was murdered, was now examined, by the Coroner and the Jury, as to what ſhe knew concerning *Clark*. She ſaid, " *Daniel Clark* was an intimate Acquaintance of " her Huſband's; and that they had frequent " Tranſactions together before the 8th of *Fe-* " *bruary*, 1744-5, and that *Richard Houſeman* was " often with them: Particularly, That, on the " 7th of *February*, 1744-5, about Six o'Clock in " the Evening, *Aram* came home when ſhe was " waſhing in the Kitchen; upon which he di- " rected her to put out the Fire and make one " above Stairs: She accordingly did ſo. About " Two o'Clock in the Morning, on the 8th of " *February*, *Aram*, *Clark*, and *Houſeman* came to " *Aram*'s Houſe, and went up Stairs to the " Room where ſhe was: They ſtaid about an " Hour. Her Huſband aſked her for a Hand- " kerchief for *Dickey* (meaning *Richard Houſe-* " *man*) to tye about his Head: She according- " ly lent him one. Then *Clark* ſaid, *It will ſoon* " *be Morning, and we muſt get off.* After which, " *Aram*, *Houſeman*, and *Clark*, all went out to- " gether: That, upon *Clark*'s going out, ſhe " obſerved him take a Sack or Wallet upon " his Back, which he carried along with him: " Whither they went ſhe could not tell. That, " about Five o'Clock the ſame Morning, her " Huſband and *Houſeman* returned, and *Clark* " did not come with them. Her Huſband came " up Stairs, and deſired to have a Candle, that " he might make a Fire below. To which ſhe " objected, and ſaid, *There was no Occaſion for* " *two Fires, as there was a good one in the Room* " *above, where ſhe then was.* To which *Aram*, " her Huſband, anſwered, " *Dickey* (meaning

" *Richard*

" *Richard Houſeman) was below, and did not chuſe*
" *to come up Stairs:* Upon which ſhe aſked,
" (*Clark* not returning with them) *What they*
" *had done with* Daniel? To this her Huſband
" gave no Anſwer; but deſired her to go to
" Bed; which ſhe refuſed; and told him, *They*
" *had being doing ſomething bad.* Then *Aram*
" went down with the Candle. She being de-
" ſirous to know what her Huſband and *Houſe-*
" *man* were doing; and, being about to go
" down Stairs, ſhe heard *Houſeman* ſay to *Aram*,
" *She is coming.* Her Huſband replied, *We'll*
" *not let her. Houſeman* then ſaid, *If ſhe does,*
" *ſhe'll tell. What can ſhe tell?* replies *Aram*,
" *Poor ſimple Thing! ſhe knows nothing.* To
" which *Houſeman* ſaid, *If ſhe tells that I am here,*
" *'twill be enough.* Her Huſband then ſaid, *I*
" *will hold the Door, to prevent her from coming.*
" Whereupon *Houſeman* ſaid, *Something muſt be*
" *done, to prevent her telling*, and preſſed him to
" it very much; and ſaid, *If ſhe does not tell*
" *now, ſhe may at ſome other Time. No*, ſaid her
" Huſband, *We will coax her a little until her*
" *Paſſion be off, and then take an Opportunity to*
" *ſhoot her:* Upon which *Houſeman* ſeem'd ſatiſ-
" fied, and ſaid, *What muſt be done with her*
" *Clothes?* Whereupon they both agreed, That
" they would let her lie where ſhe was ſhot, in
" her Clothes. She hearing this Diſcourſe, was
" much terrified, but remained quiet, until near
" Seven o'Clock in the ſame Morning, when
" *Aram* and *Houſeman* went out of the Houſe.
" Upon which Mrs. *Aram* coming down Stairs,
" and ſeeing there had been a Fire below,
" and all the Aſhes taken from out of the Grate,
" ſhe went and examined the Dunghill; and

" perceiving

" perceiving Aſhes of a different Kind to lie " upon it, ſhe ſearched amongſt them, and " found ſeveral Pieces of Linen and Woollen " Cloth, very near burnt, which had the Ap- " pearance of belonging to Wearing-Apparel. " When ſhe returned into the Houſe from the " Dunghill, ſhe found the Handkerchief ſhe had " lent *Houſeman* the Night before; and looking " at it, ſhe found ſome Blood upon it, about the " Size of a Shilling; upon which ſhe immediately " went to *Houſeman*, and ſhewed him the Pieces " of Cloth ſhe had found; and ſaid, *She was a-* " *fraid they had done ſomething bad to* Clark. But " *Houſeman* then pretended he was a Stranger " to her Accuſation, and ſaid, *He knew nothing* " *what ſhe meant.* From the above Circum- " ſtances ſhe believes *Daniel Clark* to have been " murdered by *Richard Houſeman* and *Eugene* " *Aram*, on the 8th of *February*, 1744-5."

Mr. *Philip Coates*, of *Knareſbrough*, Brother-in-Law to *Daniel Clark*, was then examined by the Coroner; who ſaid, " He knew *Daniel Clark* " from a Child; and that he was with him on " the 7th of *February*, 1744-5, about Nine " o'Clock at Night, and that *Clark* promiſed to " call upon him in the Morning: But he not " calling, he went to *Clark*'s Houſe, about Nine " o'Clock in the Morning. After enquiring " for him there, *Clark*'s Maid told him he was " gone to *Newall* to his Wife. On the 10th of " *February* Mr. *Coates* went to *Newall* to ſeek " *Clark*, but could not hear of him, nor ever " did, tho' he had been advertiſed for ſome Time. " That a Week or ten Days before *Clark* was " miſſing, he received a large Sum of Money;

" and

" and that no Money remained at his Houſe af-
" ter he was miſſing."

Several other Witneſſes were examined by the Coroner, affirming *Eugene Aram* and *Richard Houſeman* to be the laſt Perſons ſeen with *Clark*, eſpecially on the Night of the 7th of *February*, 1744-5, being the Night before *Clark* was miſſing, and other particular Circumſtances, which, to avoid Repetition, will be ſhewn at large when we come upon the Trial. We ſhall only add that of Mr. *John Yeates*, a Barber, in *Knaresbrough*, who ſaid, " He knew *Daniel Clark*, and " the laſt Time he ſaw him, was then about " thirteen or fourteen Years ago, and that he " had been miſſing ever ſince. Some Time af-" ter which, as he, Mr. *Yeates*, was going over " *Thiſtle-Hill*, near the Rock, he obſerved a Place " to be freſh dug and oblong; he preſumed it " might contain a Boy of about twelve Years of " Age; that he had ſeen the Place where the " Bones of a deceaſed Man were found, and ſaid " it was the ſame he ſaw ſo freſh dug up."

Barbara Leetham, of *Knareſbrough*, Widow, gave in the ſame Kind of Evidence.

Mr. *Higgins* and Mr. *Locock*, of *Knareſbrough*, Surgeons, upon breaking a Thigh-bone of the Skeleton, and viewing it, gave it as their Opinion that the Body might have lain in the Ground about thirteen or fourteen Years.

Theſe Teſtimonies were given before the Inqueſt in the Manner related, and *Houſeman*, by the Coroner's Order, being preſent, it was obſerved that he ſeemed very uneaſy; diſcovering all the Signs of Guilt, ſuch as trembling, turning pale, and faultering in his Speech: This, with the ſtrong Circumſtances given by Mrs. *Aram*, *&c.*

gave

gave a Suſpicion that he muſt have been concerned in the Murder of *Clark*, tho' he gave no Account of the Matter, and denied that he knew any Thing concerning the Murder.

Few Men guilty of ſo heinous a Crime as Murder can conceal it. By ſome Circumſtance or other, the Truth will break forth, and their own unfaithful Tongues will betray them.

Upon the Skeleton's being produced, *Houſeman*, at the Coroner's Requeſt, took up one of the Bones; and, in his Confuſion, dropt this unguarded Expreſſion, *This is no more* Dan Clark's *Bone, than it is mine.* From which it was concluded, That if *Houſeman* was ſo certain that the Bones before him were not *Dan Clark*'s, he could give ſome Account of him; and being told ſo, he anſwered, "That he could produce a Wit-"neſs who had ſeen *Daniel Clark* upon the Road "two or three Days after he was miſſing at *Knareſ-*"*brough.*" Accordingly the Witneſs (one *Parkinſon*) was ſent for; who, on being aſked the Queſtion, told the Coroner and the Jury, "That "he himſelf had never ſeen *Daniel Clark* after "that Time, *viz.* the 8th of *Feb.* 1744-5; that "a Friend of his (*Parkinſon*'s) told him he had "met a Perſon like *Daniel Clark*; but, as it was "a ſnowy Day, and the Perſon had the Cape of "his great Coat up, he could not ſay, with the "leaſt Degree of Certainty, who he was."

This, ſo far from being ſatisfactory, increaſed the Suſpicion, that *Houſeman* was either the Murderer of *Clark*, or an Accomplice in the Murder: Whereupon the Conſtable applied to *William Thornton*, Eſq; who, being informed from the the Coroner of the Depoſitions taken, granted them a Warrant to apprehend *Houſeman*, and bring

him before him. He was accordingly brought and examined: Here he ſays, "He was in Com-
" pany with *Daniel Clark* the Night before he
" went off, which he believes might be on a
" *Thurſday*, in *February* 1744-5; that the Reaſon
" of his being then with him was, upon Ac-
" count of ſome Money (*viz.* 20*l.*) that he had
" lent *Clark*, which he wanted to get again of
" him, and for which he then gave him ſome
" Goods that took up a conſiderable Time in
" carrying from *Daniel Clark*'s Houſe to his, *viz.*
" from Eleven, the Hour at which he went to
" *Clark*, till ſome Time the next Morning: That
" the Goods he took were Leather and ſome
" Linen-Cloth, which, as ſoon as he had poſ-
" ſeſſed himſelf of, and alſo of a Note of the
" Prices he was to ſell them at, he left *Clark* in
" *Aram*'s Houſe with *Aram* and another Man,
" unknown to this Examinant: Who further
" ſaith, That *Aram* and *Clark*, immediately after,
" followed him out of *Aram*'s Houſe, and went
" into the Market-Place with the other unknown
" Perſon, which the Light of the Moon enabled
" him to ſee; that he does not know what be-
" came of them after: And utterly diſavows
" that he came back to *Aram*'s Houſe that Morn-
" ing with *Aram* and without *Clark*, as is aſſert-
" ed by Mrs. *Aram*; nor was he with *Aram* but
" with *Clark* at *Aram*'s Houſe that Night, whi-
" ther he went to ſeek him, in order to obtain
" from him the Note as above; that when he
" had lodg'd the Goods he got at *Clark*'s Houſe
" ſafely in his own, he went to ſeek *Clark*, found
" him at *Aram*'s with the unknown Perſon;
" and after having procur'd the Note, which
" was his Errand, came away directly, as was

before

" before related. He further ſaith, That he " did not ſee *Clark* take any Wallet, Plate, or " Things of Value along with him when they " came out of the Houſe the laſt Time, which " was early in the Morning. But admits, That, " ſome Time after *Clark* was miſſing, *Anna Aram* " came to him in a Paſſion, and demanded Mo- " ney of him, and ſaid he had Money of her " Huſband's in his Hands, and pretended to " ſhew him ſome Shreds of Cloth, and aſk'd, " If he knew what they were? To which he " anſwered, That he did not know. And entire- " ly denies that he ever has been charged with " the Murder of *Daniel Clark*, till now by *Anna* " *Aram*."

Being aſk'd, If he choſe to ſign this Examination? he ſaid, " He choſe to wave it for the " preſent; for he might have ſomething to " add, and therefore deſired to have Time to " conſider of it."

As he choſe not to ſign this Examination, it was preſumed that he was conſcious he had not declared the Truth of the Matter, and Mr. *Thornton* thought proper to commit him to *York-Caſtle* the Morning following. At *Green-Hammerton*, in the Road to *York*, he behaved to his Conductors in ſuch a Manner as to ſhew that he was concerned in the Murder, or knew of it, and that he was deſirous of making a more ample Confeſſion on their Arrival at *York*. Being come to the *Minſter* in *Micklegate*, they were acquainted that Mr. *Thornton* was then paſſing by; *Houſeman* deſired he might be called into the Houſe, and in his Preſence made the following Confeſſion:

" That *Daniel Clark* was murdered by *Eugene*
" *Aram*, late of *Knareſbrough*, a School-Maſter,
" and, as he believes, on *Friday* the 8th of *Fe-*
" *bruary*, 1744-5; for that *Eugene Aram* and *Da-*
" *niel Clark* were together at *Aram*'s Houſe early
" that Morning, (being Moon-light, and Snow
" upon the Ground) and that he *(Houſeman)* left
" the Houſe, and went up the Street a little be-
" fore, and they called to him, deſiring he would
" go a ſhort Way with them, and he accordingly
" went along with them to a Place called *St. Ro-*
" *bert's Cave*, near *Grimble-Bridge*, where *Aram*
" and *Clark* ſtopp'd, and there he ſaw *Aram*
" ſtrike him ſeveral Times over the Breaſt and
" Head, and ſaw him fall as if he was dead, up-
" on which he came away and left them: But
" whether *Aram* uſed any Weapon or not to kill
" *Clark* he could not tell; nor does he know
" what he did with the Body afterwards, but be-
" lieves that *Aram* left it at the Mouth of the
" Cave; for that, ſeeing *Aram* do this, leſt he
" might ſhare the ſame Fate, he made the beſt
" of his Way from him, and got to the Bridge-
" End; where, looking back, he ſaw *Aram* co-
" ming from the Cave Side, (which is in a pri-
" vate Rock adjoining the River) and could
" diſcern a Bundle in his Hand, but did not
" know what it was; upon this he haſted away
" to the Town, without either joining *Aram*,
" or ſeeing him again till the next Day, and from
" that Time to this he never had any private
" Diſcourſe with him. Afterwards, however,
" *Houſeman* ſaid that *Clark*'s Body was buried in
" *St. Robert's Cave*, and that he was ſure it was
" then there; but deſired it might remain till
" ſuch Time as *Aram* ſhould be taken. He add-
" ed further, That *Clark*'s Head lay to the Right,

" in

" in the Turn at the Entrance of the Cave." Theſe Words *Houſeman* repeated the Day after to Mr. *Barker* the Conſtable. *

On *Houſeman*'s Commitment to the Caſtle, proper Perſons were appointed to examine *St. Robert's Cave*; where, agreeable to his Confeſſion, was found the Skeleton of a Human Body, the Head lying as he before had ſaid; upon which an Inquiſition was taken by the Coroner.

Houſeman having thus declared that *Clark* was murdered by *Aram*, who, upon Enquiry, was found to be at *Lynn*, in *Norfolk*, Mr. *Thornton* iſſued his Warrant to apprehend him, and directed Mr. *John Barker* and Mr. *Francis Moor*, the Conſtables of *Knareſbrough*, to Sir *John Turner*, a Juſtice of Peace in *Lynn*. On their Arrival there they waited on this Gentleman, who indorſed the Warrant; and *Aram* was apprehended in a School where he was Uſher, and conducted to *Yorkſhire*. Being brought before Mr. *Thornton*, and examined, he confeſſed, "That " he was well acquainted with *Daniel Clark*; " and, to the beſt of his Remembrance, it was " about, or before, the 8th of *February*, 1744-5; " but utterly denied he had any Connection with " him in thoſe Frauds which *Clark* ſtood charged " with at or before the Time of his Diſappear- " ance, which might be about the 10th of *Febru-* " *ary*, 1744-5, when he *(Aram)* was arreſted, by " Proceſs, for a Debt: That, during the Time " of his being in Cuſtody, he firſt heard that " *Clark* was miſſing: That, after his Releaſe, he " was

* This Confeſſion Mr. *Thornton* gave to *Houſeman* to read over; and, after he had ſo done, Mr. *Thornton* aſked him if he choſe to ſign it; to which he conſented, replying, That it was the Truth, and the real Truth. Upon which he was committed to the Caſtle.

" was apprehended by a Warrant from a Juſtice
" of Peace for a Miſdemeanor; but, appearing
" before the Juſtice, and the Charge not being
" made out againſt him, he was diſmiſſed: After
" this he continued at *Knareſbrough* a conſiderable
" Time, without any Kind of Moleſtation; and
" then he removed to *Nottingham*, to ſpend a
" few Days with ſome Relations; from whence
" he went to *London*. There he reſided publickly
" 'till he came down to *Lynn*, which was about
" ſeven Months before he was arreſted by War-
" rant, on Suſpicion of being concerned in the
" Murder of *Daniel Clark*. He admits that he
" might be with *Clark* in *February*, 1744-5; but
" does not recollect that he was at Mr. *Carter*'s,
" who keeps a Public Houſe in *Knareſbrough*,
" with a *Jew*, *Richard Houſeman*, a Flaxdreſſer,
" and *Daniel Clark*, about Twelve o'Clock at
" Night, on the 7th of *February*, 1744-5; nor
" does he recollect that he was in Company with
" *Clark* and *Houſeman*, after Two o'Clock in the
" Morning, at any particular Time or Place, in
" *February*, 1744-5; nor at or after Three o'Clock
" in the Morning; nor at *Grimble-Bridge*; nor
" at, or near, a Place called *St. Robert's Cave*, on
" the 8th of *February*, 1744-5, in the Morning;
" nor does he know any thing of *Clark*'s being
" murdered; nor does he recollect that he was
" with *Clark* and *Houſeman*, when *Clark* called
" upon *William Tuton* on the 8th of *February*,
" 1744-5, in the Morning; nor does he remem-
" ber any thing of a Maſon's Tool being found
" in his own Houſe, when he was arreſted by a
" Warrant, in 1744-5; nor does he remember
" meeting Mr. *Barnett*, or ſeeing him in Com-
" pany with the aboveſaid Perſons, the 8th of

" *February*

" *February*, 1744-5, in the Morning; nor does " he remember that he came home that Morn- " ing at Five o'Clock, with *Houſeman*, and made " a Fire for them in his own Houſe, which is aſ- " ſerted by his Wife; nor does he remember " that he had ſo a great a Sum of Money as fifty " Guineas about that Time, or pull'd any ſuch " Sum out of his Pocket; nor did he ſeek to " ſuborn or aſk any one Perſon to ſay that he had " ſeen *Clark* ſince the 8th of *February*, 1744-5, " who really had not ſeen him; but true it was " that he has often made Enquiry about him, " and he thinks he hath heard ſome Perſons ſay " they have ſeen him ſince, and particularly his " Brother *Stephen Aram*; but does not recollect " any other Perſon, except another Brother of " his, *Henry Aram*, who has ſaid that he ſaw him; " nor does he know where it was thoſe Bro- " thers ſay they ſaw him. The Declaration of other Circumſtances, and the ſigning this Exa- mination, he choſe to wave, that he might have Time to recollect himſelf better, and leſt any thing ſhould be omitted, which might hereafter occur to him. "

Though, in this Examination, he denies the Murder that was charged upon him by *Houſeman* in his Confeſſion; yet, notwithſtanding, Mr. *Thorn- ton* thought proper to commit him; and there- upon made out his Commitment. In Obedience to which, *Barker* and *Moor* were about to convey him to *York-Caſtle*, and had taken him a Mile from Mr. *Thornton*'s Houſe, when *Aram* deſired to return back to Mr. *Thornton*, having, as he alledged, ſomething of Conſequence to im- part to him: Accordingly they returned to Mr. *Thornton*'s; where *Aram*, upon being a ſecond

Time

Time examined, ſaid, " That he was at his own " Houſe the 7th of *February* 1744-5, at Night, " when *Richard Houſeman* and *Daniel Clark* came " to him with ſome Plate, and both of them " went for more ſeveral Times, and came back " with ſeveral Pieces of Plate, of which *Clark* was " endeavouring to defraud his Neighbours: That " he could not but obſerve, that *Houſeman* was " all that Night very diligent to aſſiſt him, to " the utmoſt of his Power; and inſiſted, that this " was *Houſeman*'s Buſineſs that Night, and not " the ſigning any Note or Inſtrument, as is pre- " tended by *Houſeman*. That *Henry Terry*, then " of *Knareſbrough*, Ale-Keeper, was as much " concern'd in abetting the ſaid Frauds, as either " *Houſeman* or *Clark*; but was not now at *Aram*'s " Houſe, becauſe, as it was Market-Day, his Ab- " ſence from his Gueſts might have occaſioned " ſome Suſpicion: That *Terry*, notwithſtanding, " brought two Silver Tankards that Night, up- " on *Clark*'s Account, which had been fraudu- " lently obtained: And that *Clark*, ſo far from " having borrowed 20 *l.* of *Houſeman*, to his " Knowledge never borrowed more than 9 *l.* " which he had paid him again before that Night.

" That all the Leather *Clark* had, which " amounted to a conſiderable Value, he well " knows, was concealed under Flax in *Houſe-* " *man*'s Houſe, with Intent to be diſpoſed of " by little and little, in order to prevent Su- " ſpicion of his being concerned in *Clark*'s frau- " dulent Practices.

" That *Terry* took the Plate in a Bag, as " *Clark* and *Houſeman* did the Watches, Rings, " and ſeveral ſmall Things of Value, and car- " ried them into the Flat, where they and he

" (*Aram*)

" (*Aram*) went together to *St. Robert's Cave*,
" and beat moſt of the Plate flat: It was then
" thought too late in the Morning, being about
" Four o'Clock on the 8th of *February*, 1744-5,
" for *Clark* to go off ſo as to get to any Diſtance,
" it was therefore agreed he ſhould ſtay there
" till the Night following, and *Clark* according-
" ly ſtaid there all that Day, as he believes, they
" having agreed to ſend him Victuals, which
" were carried to him by *Henry Terry*, he being
" judged the moſt likely Perſon to do it without
" Suſpicion, for as he was a Shooter he might
" go thither under the Pretence of Sporting:
" That the next Night, in order to give *Clark*
" more Time to get off, *Henry Terry*, *Richard*
" *Houſeman*, and himſelf, went down to the Cave
" very early; but he (*Aram*) did not go into the
" Cave, or ſee *Clark* at all; that *Richard Houſe-*
" *man* and *Henry Terry* only went into the Cave,
" he ſtaying to watch, at a little Diſtance on
" the Outſide, leſt any Body ſhould ſurprize
" them.

" That he believes they were beating ſome
" Plate, for he heard them make a Noiſe; they
" ſtaid there about an Hour, and then came out
" of the Cave, and told him, that *Clark* was
" gone off. Obſerving a Bag they had along
" with them, he took it in his Hand, and ſaw
" that it contain'd Plate. On aſking, Why *Da-*
" *niel* did not take the Plate along with him?
" *Terry* and *Houſeman* replied, That they had
" bought it of him, as well as the Watches, and
" had given him Money for it, that being more
" convenient for him to go off with, as leſs cum-
" berſome and dangerous. After which they all
" three went into *Houſeman*'s Ware-Houſe, and

" concealed the Watches with the ſmall Plate " there, but that *Terry* carried away with him " the great Plate: That afterwards *Terry* told " him he carried it to *How-Hill*, and hid it there, " and then went into *Scotland*, and diſpoſed of it: " But as to *Clark*, he could not tell whether he " was murdered or not; he knew nothing of " him, only that they told him he was gone off."

After he had ſigned this ſecond Confeſſion he was conducted to *York-Caſtle*, where he and *Houſeman* remained till the Aſſizes.

From the above Examination of *Aram* there appeared great Reaſon to ſuſpect *Terry* to be an Accomplice in this black Affair; a Warrant was therefore granted, and he likewiſe was apprehended and committed to the Caſtle. Bills of Indictment were found againſt them: But it appearing to the Court, upon Affidavit, that the Proſecutor could not be fully provided with his Witneſſes at that Time, the Trial was poſtponed till *Lammas* Aſſizes.

On the 3d of *Auguſt*, 1759, *Richard Houſeman* and *Eugene Aram* were brought to the Bar. *Houſeman* was arraigned on his former Indictment, acquitted, and admitted Evidence againſt *Aram*, who was thereupon arraigned. *Houſeman* was then called upon, who depoſed, " That, in the Night between the 7th and 8th of *February*, 1744-5, about Eleven o'Clock, he went to *Aram*'s Houſe: That, after two Hours, and upwards, ſpent in paſſing to and fro between their ſeveral Houſes, to diſpoſe of various Goods, and to ſettle ſome Notes concerning them, *Aram* propoſed, firſt to *Clark*, and then to *Houſeman*, to take a Walk out of Town: That, when they came

came to the Field where *St. Robert's Cave* is, *Aram* and *Clark* went into it over the Hedge, and when they came within ſix or eight Yards of the Cave he ſaw them quarrelling: That he ſaw *Aram* ſtrike *Clark* ſeveral Times, upon which *Clark* fell, and he never ſaw him riſe again: That he ſaw no Inſtrument that *Aram* had, and knew not that he had any: That upon this, without any Interpoſition or Alarm, he left them, and returned home: That the next Morning he went to *Aram*'s Houſe, and aſked what Buſineſs he had with *Clark* laſt Night, and what he had done with him? *Aram* replied not to this Queſtion; but threatened him, if he ſpoke of his being in *Clark*'s Company that Night; vowing Revenge, either by himſelf or ſome other Perſon, if he mentioned any thing relating to the Affair."

Peter Moor (*Clark*'s Servant) depoſed, "That, a little Time before his diſappearing, *Clark* went to receive his Wife's Fortune: That, upon his Return, he went to *Aram*'s Houſe, where this Witneſs then was: Upon *Clark*'s coming in, *Aram* ſaid, *How do you, Mr.* Clark? *I'm glad to ſee you at home again, pray what Succeſs?* To which *Clark* replied, *I have received my Wife's Fortune, and have it in my Pocket, though it was with Difficulty I got it.* Upon which *Aram* ſaid to *Clark*, (*Houſeman* being preſent) *Let us go up Stairs:* Accordingly they went; upon which this Witneſs returned home."

Mr. *Beckwith* depoſed, "That, when *Aram*'s Garden was ſearched, on Suſpicion of his being an Accomplice in the Frauds of *Clark*, there were found buried there ſeveral Kinds of Goods, bound together in a coarſe Wrapper; and,

among the reſt, in particular, a Piece of Cambrick, which he himſelf had ſold *Clark* a very little Time before."

Thomas Barnet depoſed, "That, on the 8th of *February*, about One in the Morning, he ſaw a Perſon come out from *Aram*'s Houſe, who had a wide Coat on, with the Cape about his Head, and ſeemed to ſhun him; whereupon he went up to him, and put by the Cape of his Great Coat; and, perceiving it to be *Richard Houſeman*, wiſhed him a good Night, *alias* a good Morning."

John Barker the Conſtable, who executed the Warrant granted by Mr. *Thornton*, and indorſed by Sir *John Turner*, depoſed, "That, at *Lynn*, Sir *John Turner*, and ſome others, firſt went into the School where *Aram* was, the Witneſs waiting at the Door. Sir *John* aſked him, *If he knew* Knareſbrough? He replied, *No.* And being further aſked, *If he had any Acquaintance with one* Daniel Clark? He denied, *That he ever knew ſuch a Man.* The Witneſs then entered the School, and ſaid, *How do you do, Mr.* Aram? *Aram* replied, *How do you do, Sir? I don't know you. What!* ſaid the Witneſs, *Don't you know me? Don't you remember that* Daniel Clark *and you always had a Spite againſt me when you lived at* Knareſbrough? Upon this he recollected the Witneſs, and own'd his Reſidence at *Knareſbrough.* The Witneſs then aſked him, *If he did not know* St. Robert's Cave? He anſwered, *Yes.* The Witneſs replied, *Aye, to your Sorrow.* That, upon their Journey to *York*, *Aram* enquired after his old Neighbours, and what they ſaid of him. To which the Witneſs replied, That they were much enraged againſt him for the Loſs of their Goods: That upon *Aram*'s aſking, If it was not poſſible to make up

the

the Matter? The Witneſs anſwered, He believed he might ſave himſelf, if he would reſtore to them what they had loſt. *Aram* anſwered, That was impoſſible; but he might, perhaps, find them an Equivalent. *Aram* was then aſked by the Judge, If he had any Thing to ſay to the Witneſs before him? He replied, "That, to the beſt of his Knowledge, it was not in the School, but in the Room adjoining to the School, where Sir *John Turner* and the Witneſs were, when he firſt ſaw them."

The Skull was then produced in Court, on the Left Side of which there was a Fracture, that from the Nature of it could not have been made but by the Stroke of ſome blunt Inſtrument; the Piece was beaten inwards, and could not be replaced but from within. Mr. *Locock*, the Surgeon, who produced it, gave it as his Opinion, That no ſuch Breach could proceed from any natural Decay; that it was not a recent Fracture by the Inſtrument with which it was dug up, but ſeemed to be of many Years ſtanding.

After theſe ſeveral Depoſitions, *Aram* was aſk'd what he had to urge in his Behalf, and begg'd that he might be indulg'd in reading his Defence.

The following is a faithful Copy of it, printed from his own Original, and retaining even it's accidental grammatical Inaccuracies.

My Lord,

I Know not whether it is of Right, or through ſome Indulgence of your Lordſhip, that I am allowed the Liberty at this Bar, and at this Time, to attempt a Defence; incapable, and uninſtructed, as I am to ſpeak. Since, while I ſee ſo many

Eyes

Eyes upon me, ſo numerous and awful a Concourſe, fixed with Attention, and filled with I know not what Expectancy, I labour, not with Guilt, my Lord, but with Perplexity. For having never ſeen a Court but this, being wholly unacquainted with Law, the Cuſtoms of the Bar, and all Judiciary Proceedings, I fear I ſhall be ſo little capable of ſpeaking with Propriety in this Place, that it exceeds my Hope, if I ſhall be able to ſpeak at all.

I have heard, my Lord, the Indictment read, wherein I find myſelf charged with the higheſt Crime; with an Enormity I am altogether incapable of; a Fact, to the Commiſſion of which there goes far more Inſenſibility of Heart, more Profligacy of Morals, than ever fell to my Lot. And nothing poſſibly could have admitted a Preſumption of this Nature, but a Depravity, not inferior to that imputed to me. However, as I ſtand indicted at your Lordſhip's Bar, and have heard what is called Evidence induced in Support of ſuch a Charge, I very humbly ſollicit your Lordſhip's Patience, and beg the Hearing of this reſpectable Audience, while I, ſingle and unſkilful, deſtitute of Friends, and unaſſiſted by Counſel, ſay ſomething, perhaps, like Argument, in my Defence. I ſhall conſume but little of your Lordſhip's Time; what I have to ſay will be ſhort, and this Brevity, probably, will be the beſt Part of it: However, it is offered with all poſſible Regard, and the greateſt Submiſſion to your Lordſhip's Conſideration, and that of this Honourable Court.

Firſt, My Lord, the whole Tenor of my Conduct in Life contradicts every Particular of this Indictment. Yet I had never ſaid this, did not my preſent Circumſtances extort it from me, and

ſeem

ſeem to make it neceſſary. Permit me here, my Lord, to call upon Malignity itſelf, ſo long and cruelly buſied in this Proſecution, to charge upon me any Immorality, of which Prejudice was not the Author. No, my Lord, I concerted not Schemes of Fraud, projected no Violence, injured no Man's Perſon or Property. My Days were honeſtly laborious, my Nights intenſely ſtudious. And, I humbly conceive, my Notice of this, eſpecially at this Time, will not be thought impertinent, or unſeaſonable; but, at leaſt, deſerving ſome Attention: Becauſe, my Lord, that any Perſon, after a temperate Uſe of Life, a Series of thinking and acting regularly, and without one ſingle Deviation from Sobriety, ſhould plunge into the very Depth of Profligacy, precipitately and at once, is altogether improbable and unprecedented, and abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Courſe of Things. Mankind is never corrupted at once; Villainy is always progreſſive, and declines from Right, Step after Step, till every Regard of Probity is loſt, and every Senſe of all Moral Obligations totally periſhes.

Again, my Lord, a Suſpicion of this Kind, which nothing but Malevolence could entertain, and Ignorance propagate, is violently oppoſed by my very Situation at that Time, with reſpect to Health: For, but a little Space before, I had been confined to my Bed, and ſuffered under a very long and ſevere Diſorder, and was not able, for half a Year together, ſo much as to walk. The Diſtemper left me indeed, yet ſlowly and in Part; but ſo macerated, ſo enfeebled, that I was reduced to Crutches; and was ſo far from being well about the Time I am charged with this Fact, that I never to this Day perfectly recovered. Could then a Perſon in this Condition take any

thing

thing into his Head ſo unlikely, ſo extravagant? I, paſt the Vigour of my Age, feeble and valetudinary, with no Inducement to engage, no Ability to accompliſh, no Weapon wherewith to perpetrate ſuch a Fact; without Intereſt, without Power, without Motive, without Means.

Beſides, it muſt needs occur to every one, that an Action of this atrocious Nature is never heard of, but, when its Springs are laid open, it appears that it was to ſupport ſome Indolence, or ſupply ſome Luxury, to ſatisfy ſome Avarice, or oblige ſome Malice; to prevent ſome real, or ſome imaginary Want: Yet I lay not under the Influence of any one of theſe. Surely, my Lord, I may, conſiſtent with both Truth and Modeſty, affirm thus much; and none who have any Veracity, and knew me, will ever queſtion this.

In the *ſecond* Place, the Diſappearance of *Clark* is ſuggeſted as an Argument of his being dead: But the Uncertainty of ſuch an Inference from that, and the Fallibility of all Concluſions of ſuch a Sort, from ſuch a Circumſtance, are too obvious, and too notorious, to require Inſtances: Yet, ſuperceding many, permit me to produce a very recent one, and that afforded by this Caſtle.

In *June*, 1757, *William Thompſon*, for all the Vigilance of this Place, in open Day-light, and double-ironed, made his Eſcape; and, notwithſtanding an immediate Enquiry ſet on Foot, the ſtricteſt Search, and all Advertiſements, was never ſeen or heard of ſince. If then *Thompſon* got off unſeen, thro' all theſe Difficulties, how very eaſy was it for *Clark*, when none of them oppoſed him? But what would be thought of a Proſecution commenced againſt any one ſeen laſt with *Thompſon*?

Permit

Permit me, *next*, my Lord, to obſerve a little upon the Bones which have been diſcovered. It is ſaid, which perhaps is ſaying very far, that theſe are the Skeleton of a Man. 'Tis poſſible indeed it may: But is there any certain known Criterion, which inconteſtibly diſtinguiſhes the Sex in Human Bones? Let it be conſidered, my Lord, whether the aſcertaining of this Point ought not to precede any Attempt to identify them.

The Place of their Depoſitum too claims much more Attention than is commonly beſtow'd upon it: For, of all Places in the World, none could have mentioned any one, wherein there was greater Certainty of finding Human Bones, than a Hermitage; except he ſhould point out a Church-yard: Hermitages, in Time paſt, being not only Places of Religious Retirement, but of Burial too. And it has ſcarce or never been heard of, but that every Cell, now known, contains, or contained, theſe Relicts of Humanity; ſome mutilated, and ſome entire. I do not inform, but give me Leave to remind, your Lordſhip, that here ſat ſolitary Sanctity, and here the Hermit, or the Anchoreſs, hoped that Repoſe for their Bones, when dead, they here enjoyed when living.

All this while, my Lord, I am ſenſible this is known to your Lordſhip, and many in this Court, better than I. But it ſeems neceſſary to my Caſe that others, who have not at all, perhaps, adverted to Things of this Nature, and may have Concern in my Trial, ſhould be made acquainted with it. Suffer me then, my Lord, to produce a few of many Evidences, that theſe Cells were uſed as Repoſitories of the Dead, and to enumerate a few, in which Human Bones have been found,

as it happened in this in Queſtion; leſt, to ſome, that Accident might ſeem extraordinary, and, conſequently, occaſion Prejudice.

1. The Bones, as was ſuppoſed, of the *Saxon*, St. *Dubritius*, were diſcovered buried in his Cell at *Guaſtliff*, near *Warwick*, as appears from the Authority of Sir *William Dugdale*.

2. The Bones, thought to be thoſe of the Anchoreſs *Roſia*, were but lately diſcovered in a Cell at *Royſton*, entire, fair, and undecayed, though they muſt have lain interred for ſeveral Centuries, as is proved by Dr. *Stukely*.

3. But our own County, nay, almoſt this Neighbourhood, ſupplies another Inſtance: For, in *January*, 1747, was found, by Mr. *Stovin*, accompanied by a Reverend Gentleman, the Bones, in Part, of ſome Recluſe, in the Cell at *Lindholm*, near *Hatfield*. They were believed to be thoſe of *William* of *Lindholm*, a Hermit, who had long made this Cave his Habitation.

4. In *February*, 1744, Part of *Woburn* Abbey being pulled down, a large Portion of a Corpſe appeared, even with the Fleſh on, and which bore cutting with a Knife; though it is certain this had laid above 200 Years, and how much longer is doubtful; for this Abbey was founded in 1145, and diſſolved in 1538 or 9.

What would have been ſaid, what believed, if this had been an Accident to the Bones in Queſtion?

Farther, my Lord, it is not yet out of living Memory, that a little Diſtance from *Knareſbrough*, in a Field, Part of the Manor of the Worthy and Patriot Baronet, who does that Borough the Honour to repreſent it in Parliament, were found, in digging for Gravel, not one Human Skeleton only, but five or ſix depoſited Side by Side, with

each an Urn placed at it's Head, as your Lordſhip knows was uſual in antient Interments.

About the ſame Time, and in another Field, almoſt cloſe to this Borough, was diſcovered alſo, in ſearching for Gravel, another Human Skeleton; but the Piety of the ſame worthy Gentleman ordered both the Pits to be filled up again, commendably unwilling to diſturb the Dead.

Is the Invention of theſe Bones forgotten, then, or induſtriouſly concealed, that the Diſcovery of thoſe in Queſtion may appear the more ſingular and extraordinary? Whereas, in Fact, there is nothing extraordinary in it. My Lord, almoſt every Place conceals ſuch Remains. In Fields, in Hills, in Highway Sides, in Commons, lie frequent and unſuſpected Bones. And our preſent Allotments for Reſt for the Departed, is but of ſome Centuries.

Another Particular ſeems not to claim a little of your Lordſhip's Notice, and that of the Gentlemen of the Jury; which is, that perhaps no Example occurs of more than *one* Skeleton being found in *one Cell*; and in the Cell in Queſtion was found but *one*; agreeable, in this, to the Peculiarity of every other known Cell in *Britain*. Not the Invention of one Skeleton, then, but of two would have appeared ſuſpicious and uncommon.

But then, my Lord, to attempt to indentify theſe, when even to indentify living Men ſometimes has proved ſo difficult, as in the Caſe of *Perkin Warbeck* and *Lambert Symnel* at home, and of Don *Sebaſtian* abroad, will be looked upon, perhaps, as an Attempt to determine what is indeterminable. And I hope too it will not paſs unconſidered here, where Gentlemen believe with Caution, think with Reaſon, and decide

with Humanity, what Intereſt the Endeavour to do this is calculated to ſerve, in aſſigning proper Perſonality to thoſe Bones, whoſe particular Appropriation can only appear to eternal Omniſcience.

Permit me, my Lord, alſo, very humbly to remonſtrate, that, as Human Bones appear to have been the inſeparable Adjuncts of every Cell, even any Perſon's naming ſuch a Place at random as containing them, in this Caſe, ſhews him rather unfortunate than conſcious preſcient, and that theſe Attendants on every Hermitage only accidentally concurred with this Conjecture. A mere caſual Coincidence of *Words* and *Things*.

But it ſeems another Skeleton has been diſcovered by ſome Labourer, which was full as confidently averred to be *Clark*'s as this. My Lord, muſt ſome of the Living, if it promotes ſome Intereſt, be made anſwerable for all the Bones that Earth has concealed, and Chance expoſed? And might not a Place where Bones lay be mentioned by a Perſon by Chance, as well as found by a Labourer by Chance? Or, is it more criminal accidentally to *name* where Bones lie, than accidentally to *find* where they lie?

Here too is a Human Skull produced, which is fractured; but was this the *Cauſe*, or was it the Conſequence of Death; was it owing to Violence, or was it the Effect of natural Decay? If it was Violence, was that Violence before or after Death? My Lord, in *May*, 1732, the Remains of *William* Lord Archbiſhop of this Province were taken up, by Permiſſion, in this Cathedral, and the Bones of the Skull were found broken; yet certainly he died by no Violence offered to him alive, that could occaſion that Fracture there.

Let it be conſidered, my Lord, that, upon the Diſſolution of Religious Houſes, and the Commencement

mencement of the Reformation, the Ravages of thoſe Times both affected the Living and the Dead. In Search after imaginary Treaſures, Coffins were broken up, Graves and Vaults dug open, Monuments ranſack'd, and Shrines demoliſhed; your Lordſhip knows that theſe Violations proceeded ſo far, as to occaſion Parliamentary Authority to reſtrain them; and it did, about the Beginning of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. I entreat your Lordſhip ſuffer not the Violences, the Depredations, and the Iniquities of thoſe Times, to be imputed to this.

Moreover, what Gentleman here is ignorant that *Knareſbrough* had a Caſtle; which, tho' now a Ruin, was once conſiderable both for its Strength and Garriſon. All know it was vigorouſly beſieged by the Arms of the Parliament: At which Siege, in Sallies, Conflicts, Flights, Purſuits, many fell in all the Places round it; and where they fell were buried: For every Place, my Lord, is Burial Earth in War; and many, queſtionleſs, of theſe reſt yet unknown, whoſe Bones Futurity ſhall diſcover.

I hope, with all imaginable Submiſſion, that what has been ſaid will not be thought impertinent to this Indictment; and that it will be far from the Wiſdom, the Learning, and the Integrity of this Place, to impute to the Living what Zeal in its Fury may have done; what Nature may have taken off, and Piety interred; or what War alone may have deſtroyed, alone depoſited.

As to the Circumſtances that have been rak'd together, I have nothing to obſerve; but that all Circumſtances whatſoever are precarious, and have been but too frequently found lamentably fallible; even the ſtrongeſt have failed. They may riſe to the utmoſt Degree of Probability; yet

yet are they but Probability ſtill. Why need I name to your Lordſhip the two *Harriſons* recorded in Dr. *Howel*, who both ſuffered upon Circumſtances, becauſe of the ſudden Diſappearance of their Lodger, who was in Credit, had contracted Debts, borrowed Money, and went off unſeen, and returned again a great many Years after their Execution. Why name the intricate Affair of *Jaques du Moulin*, under King *Charles* II. related by a Gentleman who was Council for the Crown: And why the unhappy *Coleman*, who ſuffered innocent, tho' convicted upon poſitive Evidence, and whoſe Children periſhed for Want, becauſe the World uncharitably believed the Father guilty. Why mention the Perjury of *Smith*, incautiouſly admitted King's Evidence; who, to ſcreen himſelf, equally accuſed *Fainloth* and *Loveday* of the Murder of *Dunn*; the firſt of whom, in 1749, was executed at *Winchester*; and *Loveday* was about to ſuffer at *Reading*, had not *Smith* been proved perjured, to the Satisfaction of the Court, by the Surgeon of the *Goſport* Hoſpital.

Now, my Lord, having endeavoured to ſhew that the whole of this Proceſs is altogether repugnant to every Part of my Life; that it is inconſiſtent with my Condition of Health about that Time; that no rational Inference can be drawn, that a Perſon is dead who ſuddenly diſappears; that Hermitages were the conſtant Repoſitories of the Bones of the Recluſe; that the Proofs of this are well authenticated; that the Revolutions in Religion, or the Fortune of War, has mangled, or buried, the Dead; the Concluſion remains, perhaps, no leſs reaſonably than impatiently wiſhed for. I, laſt, after a Year's Confinement, equal to either Fortune, put myſelf upon the

the Candor, the Juſtice, and the Humanity of your Lordſhip, and upon yours, my Countrymen, Gentlemen of the Jury.

It might have been expected that the Priſoner, in his Defence, ſhould have remark'd upon *Houſeman*'s Teſtimony, which certainly, in many Inſtances, lay open to him: But this Defence was drawn up long before his Trial, and he ſeems not ever to have entertain'd a Suſpicion of the Fidelity of his Confederate. The Judge ſtated the Evidence very particularly to the Jury; and, after having obſerved how the Teſtimonies of the other Deponents confirmed that of *Houſeman*, he proceeded to remark upon *Aram*'s Defence, in order to ſhew that he alledged nothing that could invalidate the poſitive Evidence againſt him. Without leaving the Court the Jury preſently found the Priſoner guilty. During the whole Trial he behaved with great Steadineſs and Decency. He heard his Conviction and receiv'd his Sentence with profound Compoſure, and left the Bar with a Smile on his Countenance. Whether this was the Expreſſion of Indignation, or the Affectation of Heroiſm, we pretend not to determine.

At the Requeſt of the Clergymen, who, by his own particular Deſire, attended him after his Condemnation, *Aram* wrote the following ſhort Account of his Family, and his Life, ſome Time in the Interval between his Sentence and the Night that preceded his Execution. So far as it is given to the Public, it is given with the ſame ſcrupulous Exactneſs with which his Defence has been printed. It muſt, however, be declared, That as we ſuppreſs'd a Part of his ſecond Confeſſion, becauſe it reflected on ſome Characters

that

that ſtand unimpeach'd, ſo we have alſo ſuppreſs'd a Part of this Performance, as being extremely injurious to the Integrity and Candor of the Court.

——*Anima fugit indignata ſub Umbras.*

REVEREND SIR,*

I Always believed any Relation of my Life of no Manner of Importance or Service to the Public, and I never either had any Temptation or Deſire to appear in Print. The Publications uſhered to the World, which I ever had little Concern for, and have as little now, by Perſons in my Situation, always appeared to me only calculated for the Advantage of the Preſs, and for the Amuſement of a very idle Curioſity. But to oblige you, and not to forget my Promiſe, I will recollect as many Particulars as I can, upon ſo ſudden a Notice, and the ſmall Pittance of Time which I have left me will allow.

I was born at *Ramſgill*, a little Village in *Nether-Dale*, in 1704. My maternal Relations had been ſubſtantial and reputable in that *Dale*, for a great many Generations: My Father was of *Nottinghamſhire*, a Gardiner, of great Abilities in Botany, and an excellent Draughtſman. He ſerved the Rt. Rev. the Biſhop of *London*, Dr. *Compton*, with great Approbation; which occaſioned his being recommended to *Newby*, in this County, to Sir *Edward Blackett*, whom he ſerved in the Capacity of Gardiner, with much Credit to himſelf, and Satisfaction to that Family, for above 30 Years. Upon the Deceaſe of that Baronet, he went and was retained in the Service of Sir *John Ingilby*, of *Ripley*, Bart. where he died; reſpected when living, and lamented when dead.

My

* The Rev. Mr. *Collins*, of *Knareſbrough*.

My Father's Anceſtors were of great Antiquity and Conſideration in this County, and originally *Britiſh*. Their Surname is local; for they were formerly Lords of the Town of *Haram*, or *Aram*, on the Southern Bank of the *Tees*, and oppoſite to *Sockburn*, in *Biſhopric*; and appear in the Records of St. *Mary*'s, at *York*, among many charitable Names, early and conſiderable Benefactors to that Abbey. They, many Centuries ago, removed from theſe Parts, and were ſettled, under the Fee of the Lords *Mowbray* in *Nottinghamſhire*, at *Aram*, or *Aram-Park*, in the Neighbourhood of *Newark upon Trent*; where they were poſſeſſed of no leſs than three Knights Fees in the Reign of *Edward* III. Their Lands, I find not whether by Purchaſe or Marriage, came into the Hands of the preſent Lord *Lexington*. While the Name exiſted in this County, ſome of them were ſeveral Times High Sheriffs for this County; and one was Profeſſor of Divinity, if I remember right, at *Oxford*, and died at *York*. The laſt of the Chief of this Family, was *Thomas Aram*, Eſq; ſometime of *Gray's-Inn*, and one of the Commiſſioners of the Salt-Office, under the late Queen *Anne*. He married one of the Co-Heireſſes of Sir *John Coningſby* of *North-Mims*, in *Hertfordſhire*. His Seat, which was his own Eſtate, was at the *Wild*, near *Shenley*, in *Hertfordſhire*, where I ſaw him, and where he died, without Iſſue.

Many more Anecdotes are contained in my Papers, which are not preſent; yet theſe perhaps may be thought more than enough, as they may be conſidered rather as oſtentatious than pertinent: But the firſt was always far from me.

I was removed very young, along with my Mother, to *Skelton*, near *Newby*; and thence, at Five or Six Years old, my Father making a little Purchaſe in *Bondgate*, near *Ripon*, his Family went thither. There I went to School; where I was made capable of reading the Teſtament, which was all I was ever taught, except, a long Time after, about a Month, in a very advanced Age for that, with the Reverend Mr. *Alcock* of *Burnſal*.

After this, at about Thirteen or Fourteen Years of Age, I went to my Father at *Newby*, and attended him in the Family there, till the Death of Sir *Edward Blackett*. It was here my Propenſion to Literature firſt appeared: For, being always of a ſolitary Diſpoſition, and uncommonly fond of Retirement and Books, I enjoyed here all the Repoſe and Opportunity I could wiſh. My Study at that Time was engaged in the Mathematics: I know not what my Acquiſitions were; but I am certain my Application was at once intenſe and unwearied. I found in my Father's Library there, which contained a very great Number of Books in moſt Branches, *Kerſey's Algebra*, *Leybourn's Curſus Mathematicus*, *Ward's Young Mathematician's Guide*, *Harris's Algebra*, *&c.* and a great many more: But theſe being the Books in which I was ever moſt converſant, I remember them the better. I was even then equal to the Management of quadratic Equations, and their geometrical Conſtructions. After we left *Newby*, I repeated the ſame Studies in *Bondgate*, and went over all Parts I had ſtudied before, I believe not unſucceſsfully.

Being about the Age of Sixteen, I was ſent for to *London*, being thought, upon Examination by Mr.

Mr. *Chriſtopher Blackett*, qualified to ſerve him as Book-Keeper in his Accompting-Houſe. Here, after a Year or two's Continuance, I took the Small-Pox, and ſuffered ſeverely under that Diſtemper. My Mother was ſo impatient to ſee me, that ſhe was very near upon a Journey to *London*; which I, by an Invitation from my Father, prevented, by going to her.

At home, with Leiſure upon my Hands, and a new Addition of Authors to theſe brought me from *Newby*, I renewed not only my mathematical Studies, but begun and proſecuted others, of a different Turn, with much Avidity and Diligence: Theſe were Poetry, Hiſtory, and Antiquities; the Charms of which quite deſtroyed all the heavier Beauties of Numbers and Lines, whoſe Applications and Properties I now purſued no longer, except occaſionally in teaching.

I was, after ſome Time employed in this Manner, invited into *Netherdale*, my native Air, where I firſt engaged in a School; where I married, unfortunately enough for me: For the Miſconduct of the Wife which that Place afforded me, has procured me this Place, this Proſecution, this Infamy, and this Sentence.

During my Marriage here, perceiving the Deficiencies in my Education, and ſenſible of my Want of the Learned Languages, and prompted by an irreſiſtible Covetouſneſs of Knowledge, I commenced a Series of Studies in that Way, and undertook the Tediouſneſs, the Intricacies, and the Labour of Grammar; I ſelected *Lilly*, from the reſt: All which I got and repeated by Heart. The Taſk of repeating it all every Day, was impoſſible while I attended the School; ſo I divided it into Portions; by

which Method it was pronounced thrice every Week: And this I performed for Years.

Next I became acquainted with *Cambden's Greek* Grammar, which I alſo repeated in the ſame Manner, *memoriter*. Thus inſtructed, I entered upon the *Latin* Claſſics; whoſe Alurements repaid my Aſſiduities and my Labours. I remember to have, at firſt, hung over Five Lines for a whole Day; and never, in all the painful Courſe of my Reading, left any one Paſſage, but I did, or thought I did, perfectly comprehend.

After I had accurately peruſed every one of the *Latin* Claſſics, Hiſtorians, and Poets, I went through the *Greek* Teſtament; firſt, parcing every Word as I proceeded; next, I ventured upon *Heſiod*, *Homer*, *Theocritus*, *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and all the *Greek* Tragædians: A tedious Labour was this; but my former Acquaintance with Hiſtory leſſened it extremely; becauſe it threw a Light upon many Paſſages, which, without that Aſſiſtance, muſt have appeared obſcure.

In the midſt of theſe Literary Purſuits, a Man and Horſe, from my good Friend *William Norton*, Eſq; came for me from *Knareſbrough*, along with that Gentleman's Letter, inviting me thither; and accordingly I repaired thither in ſome Part of the Year 1734, and was, I believe, well accepted and eſteemed there. Here, not ſatisfied with my former Acquiſitions, I proſecuted the Attainment of the *Hebrew*; and with indefatigable Diligence. I had *Buxtorff's* Grammar; but that being perplexed, or not explicit enough, at leaſt in my Opinion at that Time,

I collected no leſs than Eight or Ten different *Hebrew* Grammars; and here one very often ſupplied the Omiſſions of the others; and this was, I found, of extraordinary Advantage. Then I bought the Bible in the Original, and read the whole *Pentateuch*, with an Intention to go through the whole of it; which I attempted, but wanted Time.

In *April*, I think the 18th, 1744, I went again to *London*. [The Reaſons ſhall follow.] Here I agreed to teach the *Latin* and Writing, for the Rev. Mr. *Painblanc*, in *Piccadilly*; which he, along with a Salary, returned, by teaching me *French*; wherein I obſerved the Pronunciation the moſt formidable Part, at leaſt to me, who had never before known a Word of it: But this my continued Application every Night or other Opportunity overcame, and I ſoon became a tolerable Maſter of *French*. I remained in this Situation two Years and above.

Some Time after this I went to *Hays*, in the Capacity of Writing-Maſter, and ſerved a Gentlewoman there, ſince dead; and ſtaid, after that, with a worthy and Reverend Gentleman. I continued here between three and four Years.

I ſucceeded to ſeveral other Places in the South of *England*, and all that while uſed every Occaſion of Improvement. I then tranſcribed the Acts of Parliament to be regiſtered in Chancery; and after went down to the Free-School at *Lynn*.

From my leaving *Knareſbrough* to this Period is a long Interval, which I had filled up with the farther Study of Hiſtory and Antiquities, Heraldry and Botany; in the laſt of which I was very

very agreeably entertained; there being there ſo extenſive a Diſplay of Nature. I well knew *Turneforte*, *Ray*, *Miller*, *Linnæus*, *&c.* I made frequent Viſits to the Botanic Garden at *Chelſea*; and traced Pleaſure thro' a thouſand Fields: At laſt, few Plants, Domeſtic or Exotic, were unknown to me. Amidſt all this I ventured upon the *Chaldee* and *Arabic*; and, with a Deſign to underſtand them, ſupplied myſelf with *Erpenius*, *Chapelhow*, and others: But I had not Time to obtain any great Knowledge of the *Arabic*; the *Chaldee* I found eaſy enough, becauſe of its Connexion with the *Hebrew*.

I then inveſtigated the *Celtic*, as far as poſſible, in all its Dialects; begun Collections, and made Compariſons between that, the *Engliſh*, the *Latin*, the *Greek*, and even the *Hebrew*. I had made Notes, and compared above Three Thouſand of theſe together, and found ſuch a ſurprizing Affinity, even beyond any Expectation or Conception, that I was determined to proceed thro' the whole of all theſe Languages, and form a comparative Lexicon; which I hoped would account for numberleſs Vocables in Uſe with us, the *Latins*, and *Greeks*, before concealed and unobſerved. This, or ſomething like it, was the Deſign of a Clergyman of great Erudition in *Scotland*; but it muſt prove abortive, for he died before he executed it, and moſt of my Books and Papers are now ſcattered and loſt.

Something is expected as to the Affair upon which I was committed, to which I ſay, as I mentioned in my Examination, That all the Plate of *Knareſbrough*, except the Watches and Rings, were in *Houſeman*'s Poſſeſſion; as for me,

I had nothing at all *. My Wife knows that *Terry* had the large Plate, and that *Houſeman* himſelf took both that and the Watches, at my Houſe, from *Clark*'s own Hand; and if ſhe will not give this in Evidence for the Town, ſhe wrongs both that and her own Conſcience; and if it is not done ſoon, *Houſeman* will prevent her. She likewiſe knows *Terry*'s Wife had ſome Velvelt; and, if ſhe will, can teſtify it: She deſerves not the Regard of the Town if ſhe will not. That Part of *Houſeman*'s Evidence, wherein he ſaid I threatened him, was abſolutely falſe; for what hindered him, when I was ſo long abſent and far diſtant? I muſt needs obſerve another Thing to be Perjury in *Houſeman*'s Evidence, in which he ſaid, he went home from *Clark*; whereas he went ſtraight to my Houſe, as my Wife can alſo teſtify, if I be not believed.

EUGENE ARAM.

Aram's Sentence was a juſt one, and he ſubmitted to it with that Stoiciſm he ſo much affected; and the Morning after he was condemned, he confeſſed the Juſtice of it to two Clergymen, (who had a Licence from the Judge to attend him) by declaring that he murdered *Clark*. Being aſk'd by one of them, What his Motive was for doing that abominable Action? He told them, "He ſuſpected *Clark* of having an unlawful Commerce with his Wife; that he was perſuaded at the Time when he committed the

* It is generally believed, and upon good Grounds, that *Aram* got all the Money *Clark* had received for his Wife's Fortune, *viz.* above 160 *l.* and there were ſtrong Circumſtances to prove it; but, it was thought unneceſſary, as there was ſufficient Proof againſt him without it.

the Murder he did right; but ſince he has thought it wrong."

After this, *Pray*, ſays *Aram*, *what became of* Clark's *Body, if* Houſeman *went home (as he ſaid upon my Trial) immediately on ſeeing him fall?* One of the Clergymen replied, *I'll tell you what became of it, you and* Houſeman *dragged it into the Cave, ſtripp'd and buried it there; brought away his Cloaths, and burnt them at your own Houſe:* To which he aſſented. He was aſked, Whether *Houſeman* did not earneſtly preſs him to murder his Wife, for Fear ſhe ſhould diſcover the Buſineſs they had been about, he haſtily replied, *He did, and preſſed me ſeveral Times to do it.*

This was the Subſtance of what paſſed with *Aram* the Morning after he was condemned; and as he had promiſed to make a more ample Confeſſion on the Day he was executed, it was generally believed every Thing previous to the Murder would have been diſcloſed; but he prevented any further Diſcovery, by a horrid Attempt upon his own Life. When he was called from Bed to have his Irons taken off, he would not riſe, alledging he was very weak. On Examination his Arm appeared bloody; proper Aſſiſtance being called, it was found that he had attempted to take away his own Life, by cutting his Arm in two Places with a Razor, which he had concealed in the Condemned Hold ſome Time before. By proper Applications he was brought to himſelf, and, though weak, was conducted to *Tyburn*; where being aſked if he had any thing to ſay, he anſwered, No. Immediately after he was executed and his Body convey'd to *Knareſbrough-Foreſt*, and hung in Chains, purſuant to his Sentence.

On

On his Table, in the Cell, was found the following Paper, containing his Reaſons for the aboveſaid wicked Attempt.

WHat am I better than my Fathers? To die is natural and neceſſary. Perfectly ſenſible of this, I fear no more to die than I did to be born. But the Manner of it is ſomething which ſhould, in my Opinion, be decent and manly. I think I have regarded both theſe Points. Certainly Nobody has a better Right to diſpoſe of Man's Life than himſelf; and he, not others, ſhould determine how. As for any Indignities offered to my Body, or ſilly Reflections on my Faith and Morals, they are (as they always were) Things indifferent to me. I think, tho' contrary to the common Way of Thinking, I wrong no Man by this, and hope it is not offenſive to that Eternal Being that form'd me and the World: And as by this I injure no Man, no Man can be reaſonably offended. I ſolicitouſly recommend myſelf to the Eternal and Almighty Being, the God of Nature, if I have done amiſs. But perhaps I have not; and I hope this Thing will never be imputed to me. Though I am now ſtained by Malevolence, and ſuffer by Prejudice, I hope to riſe fair and unblemiſhed. My Life was not polluted, my Morals irreproachable, and my Opinions orthodox.

I ſlept ſoundly till Three o'Clock, awak'd, and then writ theſe Lines:

Come, pleaſing Reſt, eternal Slumber fall,
Seal mine, that once muſt ſeal the Eyes of all;
Calm and compos'd my Soul her Journey takes,
No Guilt that troubles, and no Heart that aches:
Adieu! thou Sun, all-bright like her ariſe;
Adieu! fair Friends, and all that's good and wiſe.

The [illegible] found along with the [illegible] were supposed to be written by *Bram* just before he cut himself with the Razor.

Notwithstanding he pleads a sovereign Right over himself, in Vindication of this last horrid Crime, and appears, at first View, actuated by Honour and Courage; yet a little Reflection will convince any one, his Motive for such an inhuman Deed was nothing more than the Fear of Shame. That he murdered *Clark* is beyond all Doubt, as he himself voluntarily confessed it; but the Excuse he afterwards made for it is greatly to be suspected, it being at the Expence of the Character of an innocent industrious poor Woman, whom he has ever treated in an infamous inhuman Manner.